

## THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE PASSAMAQUODDY LANGUAGE OF MAINE.

By J. DYNELEY PRINCE.

(Read April 25, 1914.)

The Passamaquoddy Indians of Maine, together with the Maliseets (Milicetes) or St. John's River Indians of New Brunswick form a single linguistic group of the eastern Algonquin family known as *Wabanaki*, 'people of the dawnland,' or 'East.' It is estimated that there are about three hundred and fifty people in each clan. The other members of the group are the Micmacs of Nova Scotia, the Abenakis (a corruption of Wabanaki) or St. Francis Indians of Quebec, and the Penobscots of Oldtown, Maine, the two latter clans also forming a linguistic group similar to that of the Passamaquoddies and Maliseets.<sup>1</sup> The name "Passamaquoddy" is a corruption of *pestumo'kat*, 'one who catches pollack fish' (*Gadus Pollachius*) = *peska'tum*. This term has been applied to the tribe only in comparatively recent times. The headquarters of the Passamaquoddies are at Pleasant Point, Maine (*Sipá'yik*), where the remnants of the tribal organization still exist. Here, for example, dwelt Sopiél Selmo, the keeper of the Wampum Record, a mnemonic system of wam-

<sup>1</sup> For the Wabanaki group, cf. my articles: "Notes on the Language of the Eastern Algonquin Tribes," *Amer. Jour. Philol.*, IX., pp. 310-316; "The Wampum Record," *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, 1897, pp. 479-495; "Forgotten Indian Place-names in the Adirondacks," *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, 1900, pp. 123-128; "Some Passamaquoddy Witchcraft Tales," *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, XXXVIII., pp. 181-189; "Notes on Passamaquoddy Literature," *Annals N. Y. Academy of Sciences*, XIII., pp. 381-386; "The Modern Dialect of the Canadian Abenakis," *Miscellanea Linguistica in Onore di Graziodio Ascoli*, 1901, pp. 343-362; Leland and Prince, "Kulóskap the Master," Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1902; "The Algonquin Noun," *Proceedings of the Congress of Orientalists*, Rome, 1904; "Algonquin Religion," *Hastings, Dictionary of Religions*, s. v. "God"; "A Micmac Manuscript," *Proceedings of the Congress of Americanists*, Quebec, 1908; "A Passamaquoddy Aviator," *Amer. Anthropologist*, XI.

pum shells arranged on strings in such a manner, that certain combinations suggested certain sentences or ideas to the narrator, who, of course, knew his record by heart and was merely aided by the association of the shell combinations in his mind with incidents of the tale, song or ceremony which he was rendering (Prince, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Society*, December 3, 1897, pp. 479-495). With Selmo, however, died the secret of this curious system, but the laws and customs thereby recorded have been preserved and published in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (*loc. cit.*). There is also a large amount of oral literature handed down by these Indians, a quantity of which exists in the manuscripts of the Hon. Lewis Mitchell, Indian member of the Maine Legislature. These documents are now in my possession and I expect to publish their material in an exhaustive work on the Passamaquoddy tribe and language. Some matter of this character has already appeared, both in the *Proceedings* of this Society (XXXVIII., pp. 181-189), and also in Leland and Prince, "Kulóskap the Master," New York, 1902, a popular exposition of the eastern Algonquin folk-lore.

The object of the present paper is to discuss briefly the chief peculiarities of the Passamaquoddy idiom, as it is now in use. No detailed presentation of the morphology of this dialect has been made as yet, although some of its features have been noticed. Nearly all the materials for the present article have been gathered orally from the Passamaquoddies and tested by means of the Mitchell manuscripts.

#### PHONETICS.

The phonetics of the dialect are comparatively simple. The system followed herein gives to the vowels the Italian pronunciation, except  $\hat{a}$  = English *aw* in 'awful' and the indeterminate vowel (*Schwund*) which is indicated by the apostrophe '. There are no nasal vowels in Passamaquoddy, as in Abenaki. *H* has the value of the simple breathing, but the inverted comma ' is the well known Algonquin glottal catch, pronounced like a very soft Arabic medial *He*. *Ch* often represents a palatal *tsʰ* and between vowels has a tendency to approach *j* = *dsʰ*. The constants *p*, *t*, *k* are voiceless surds often approaching *b*, *d* and hard *g* between vowels, but never

uttered like the English *p(h)*, *t(h)*, *k(h)*. *S* between vowels is sometimes occasionally pronounced almost *z*. The combination *w'* is the whistle peculiar to the Algonquin languages occurring at the end of syllables: *ke'kw*; pronounced *kehkwu*. *W* in general is a weak consonant; it is almost equivalent to the *u*-vowel. It generally disappears after any prefix, as seen in the paradigm of *wikwus*: *nikwus*; *kikwus*, etc. It should be noted that the *l* carries an inherent vowel and is consequently pronounced very like the Polish barred *l*. *N* before consonants, as in the syllables *nta-*; *nki-* is pronounced with its own inherent vowel 'n. The spelling of the Mitchell manuscripts is a mixture of English and French influences, frequently using *b*, *d*, *g* for *p*, *t*, *k*; *j* for *ch* and an arbitrarily varying system of vocalization. No attempt has been made to follow it in this paper.

The Passamaquoddy is not especially rich in consonantal clusters, although more so than some of the other Algonquin idioms, as for instance the Fox. The following table covers nearly all the consonantal groupings which appear, and even some of these are not true clusters, as they occur in many cases with vocalic *w* and *y*. The Indian manuscripts show many apparent clusters, but they are often really separated by the *Schwund* which no Indian ever writes. Thus clusters with *l*, *m*, *n* are suspicious, owing to the probability of inherent vowels. The *Schwund* and inherent vowels may be represented by *e*.

#### CLUSTERS.

*chw*: *echwéchi*, 'must.'

*chy*: *apachyáic*, 'when I come.'

*k'm*: *w'-mikmaupaul'tinia*, 'they feast together.'

*ks*: *éyiks*, 'when they are' ('were').

*kskw*: *chwopnokskwâk'n*, 'anchor.'

*kt*: *w'máche-m'siktilîk'n*, 'he begins to punish him,' but here the *k* probably represents *k'*.

*kw*: *akwét'n*, 'canoe.'

*kw'p*: *nîsukmékw'p'n*, 'as we (paddled) together.'

*lk*: *tûlkin*, 'thus' (real).

*lh*: *amalhi'takwuk*, 'they make music'; *hel* 'fawn.'

*lkw'*: *alkw'minaútikuk*, 'in their midst' (suspicious).

*lp*: *hólpin*, 'he sits.'

*lt*: *-toltítit* = participial ending 3 p. pl. (real).

*mk*: *el-ámkikap*, 'when they came ashore.'

*mkw*: *kikúmkwuk*, 'suckers' (fish).

*ms*: *n-olámsittam'n*, 'I pretend to': *lams-*, 'blow.'

*msk*: *ámskorwás*, 'first.'

*nk*: (nasal): *k'tunkian*, 'when you have hunted' (real).

*nk*: *ankwoch*, 'sometimes' (real).

*ns*: *nsámakwán*, 'water' (*n* with inherent vowel: 'n).

*pk*: *apkulámsek*, 'they are overwhelmed by the wind.'

*pkw*: *achápkwalusk*, 'perch' (fish).

*pn*: *chwopnokswâk'n*, 'anchor' (not *p'n*).

*ps*: *ásups*, 'grebe' (sort of crane).

*psk*: *ápskeduk*, 'than.'

*pt*: *appatáptow'k*, 'they come back'; *náchipt*, 'fetch' (imper.).

*pw*: *apwítowatíchil*, 'they stand.'

*sh*: *apakweshes*, 'red-headed wood-pecker' (= *s-h*; not the English *sh*).

*sk*: *mosk*, 'find.'

*skw*: *peskw*, 'one.'

*sm*: *iklism'n*, 'white man' = 'Englishman'; *ismékwes*, 'fish-hawk.'

*sn*: *p'snut*, 'basket.'

*sp*: *kúspem*, 'lake'; *spāswēu*, 'morning.'

*st*: *chestésit*, 'he being angry'; *stáknut*, 'green.'

*sw*: *k'loswâk'n*, 'word.'

*th*: *petholatíchili*, 'when they arrive.'

*tk*: *atkéyi*, 'string, cord'; *uskitkamikw*, 'world.'

*tm*: *chepakatm'n*, 'that you shall marry.'

*ts*: *mits*, 'eat' (imper.).

*tsk*: *mitskun*, 'animal dung.'

*tw*: *lakutwâk'n*, 'treaty.'

The intonation of the Passamaquoddy is highly tonic. Almost every accented syllable indicates a voice-lift. The voice is dropped on the syllable following the tone; half raised again on the third syllable and dropped again on the fourth: *lakutwâk'n*; pronounced *lakutwâk'n*. This peculiarity appears to be distinctively Passama-

quoddy, as the kindred Maliseets speak very monotonously and with no especially noticeable voice-lift on the accented syllable. The Abenakis also have a monotonous tone, amounting practically to a drawl.

#### MORPHOLOGY.

In Passamaquoddy, as in all the other Algonquin idioms, the words are really only indifferent themes, which may be used either in a nominal or a verbal sense. This phenomenon is too well known to require elaboration, but it may be illustrated by the appearance of such indeterminate roots in all the parts of speech; thus, *sak*, 'be strong, rule'; as seen in *ʔt-achʔwi-sakʔtónʔl*, 'he must rule'; *sakléyo*, 'it is hard, difficult'; *saklikʔwáso*, 'it is served up strong'; *sákem*, 'chief'; *sakʔmaʔwámat*, 'he who is chief'; *kʔti-sakʔmaʔwéʔhul*, 'I wish to make you chief'; *sákʔma-ʔwikʔwām*, 'chief's house'; *sakʔmaʔwel-mékʔwétech*, 'may it be hallowed' = 'made like a chief,' etc. Similarly, the root *os*, 'shine,' appears in *kís-os*, 'luminary' (probably = 'what can [*kis-*] shine'); hence = 'moon, month'; *el-āsc*, 'what shines'; *níp-aúsit*, 'what shines at night'; specifically 'the moon' (*níp* = 'night'), etc. (see just below on *ʔli*).

#### THE SUBSTANTIVE.

All substantives, including adjectival formations, are divided into two classes, animate and inanimate, no attention being paid to sex-gender, which is expressed either by prefixing or suffixing some determining word, or else by the use of a distinct expression; *kínchemés*, 'king' (literally: 'King James,' the name of the first king whose name the Indians heard); but *kínchemes-iskʔwé*, 'queen,' with the feminine suffix *-iskʔwé* (= 'squaw'); *mûin*, 'bear,' but *nápeskʔwé*, 'she-bear'; *pûitʔ*, 'whale,' but *skʔweméʔkʔwé*, 'she-whale,' etc. It should be noted that many substantives which we should regard as inanimates are treated as animates in Passamaquoddy and conversely; as *akim*, 'snow-shoe' (an.); but *sat-y-il*, 'blue-berries' (inan. pl.). Genuine inanimates are, *e. g.*, *tʔmʔhíkʔn*, 'axe'; *ʔwikʔwam*, 'house,' and words of a similar character.

The plural ending for animate nouns is invariably *-k* and for inanimate *-l*, preceded as a rule by indeterminate connecting vowels;

*mûs*, 'moose'; pl. *mûs'k*; *čs*, 'clam'; pl. *čs'k*. Nouns ending in *-p* and dentals like *skí'tap*, 'man,' insert *-y-* and use the distinct ending *-ik*; pl. *skitápyik*; cf. also *pílchisáp-yíl*, 'trouser-braces' (inan.); *píljis* = English 'breeches' + *ap*, 'hang'; lit. = 'hang-breeches.' Participial forms in *-t*, like *čpít*, 'woman,' palatalize the *ty* into *ch*; pl. *čpichik* for *čpityik*. The same phenomenon of *y* after labials and dentals appears in *wikhík'nepyčéi*, 'inkstand' (*wikhík'n-nep*, 'book-water' + *-ei*, 'thing'), and in *met-y-čwéstaw*, 'he is saying' (*met* = prolonged action + *y* + *čwest*, 'speak' + participial ending *-akw*). Note also *sat-y-il* (inan.), 'blue-berries.' I can find no trace of the connecting vowels *a*, *o* and *e* (*i*) used after specific consonants, as in Abenaki (cf. Prince, "Ascoli Memorial," p. 349). Sometimes, however, after *-s* a plural in *-w'k* occurs, as *kísos*, 'month'; pl. *kis'w'k*, but, on the other hand, *kakakûs*, 'crow'; pl. *kakakûs'k*. There seems to be a natural affinity in the labial and dental for the connecting *-y-*.

#### THE ADJECTIVE.

Adjectives may be used as separate indeclinable particles preceding the noun; as *k'chî skí'tap*, 'great man'; *sigi m'tápekwin*, 'fierce warrior.' They may also appear in this indeclinable form adverbially, as *kátamayíwi-k'túnkíyik*, 'while absent they hunt' (lit. 'not' = *katama* + *y*, connector, + 'being' = *i-wi*). Very common is the use of adjectives ending in *-ko* for animates and *-k'n* for inanimates: *w'liko skí'tap*, 'good man'; pl. *w'likow'k skitápyik*; *w'lik'n wíkwām*, 'good house'; pl. *w'likn'l wíkwām'l*. The participial *-it* (an.) and *ek* (*ik*) (inan.) is a common adjectival ending as *w'likit*, 'handsome' (an.); *w'likek* (inan.). When the adjective is inflected, it must agree with its nouns, which it may follow or precede: *sāks'l picheyíkíl*, 'long stockings' (= *sāks'l*). Some adjectives end in *-l*, as *nék'm'kil skí'tap*, 'big man,' which is not an obviative *l* (see below, Substantival Modifications, No. 1). Adjectives may be formed from nouns by the endings *-wi* as *skitáp-wi*, 'human,' and *-(k)ewi*: *wíkwamkéwi*, 'homelike.'

The element *w'li* (*oli-*) may also be used adjectivally without inflection, as *w'li haás*, 'good horse'; *w'li wíkwām*, 'good house,' and in innumerable combinations both nominal and verbal. Per-



haps no better example of Passamaquoddy polysynthetic formation can be had than the following partial list of the combinations possible with *w'li*: *w'lithátm'n*, 'he is glad of it'; *k-ekwut*, 'good'; *w'lāmto*, 'he is good natured'; *w'lásewanwechiyánia*, 'they are pleased with him'; *w'laswélt'm'n*, 'he thanks for it'; *olilélm'len*, 'as I wish you well'; *olínm'n'l*, 'he rejoices at it'; *w'lápémkuk*, 'it benefits him'; *uliotwák'n*, 'benefit' (n.); *w'l-wíku*, 'he lives well' = 'is rich'; *w'tách'wi-w'l-ánkeyowáw'l*, 'they must take good care of him'; *w'lapêzwit*, 'beautiful'; *w'lapêzwiñ*, 'handsome man'; *w'leyów'l*, 'he treats her well'; *w'litham'l*, 'he consents'; *w'l-okhedím'k*, 'sport, game,' etc.

#### THE PRONOUN.

The demonstrative pronouns are *yut*, 'this' (nearer); *wut*, 'this'; *na*, 'that,' indeclinable; and *nit*, *nit*, 'that.' See below for the obviative inflection. The relative for both classes and numbers is *eli-*, followed by the participle: *eli-uskichínwit*, 'he who is an Indian'; *eli-meksit*, 'who finds.' Sometimes the relative is expressed by the participle alone: *askowáltichik*, 'those who wait.' The interrogative pronoun is as follows: animate *wen*, 'who'; obv. *wen'l*; also = 'someone'; obviative pl. = *wenihi*; inanimate: *ke'kw*, 'what'; also = 'something'; pl. *ke'kw's'l*, 'some things, things.'

A highly important feature of the language is the combination of both nouns and verbs with personal pronouns, by which means most of the inflection is carried on. In the following table of personal pronouns, it will be observed that the Passamaquoddy, like its Algonquin congeners, has two first persons plural; an inclusive and an exclusive, the first of which implies that the person and persons addressed are included with the speaker, while the second form excludes the person or persons addressed; *i. e.*, the first = 'I, you' and 'they,' and the second = 'I' and 'they.'

#### SEPARABLE PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

I, <i>níl</i> .	We (incl.), <i>kíl'n</i> .
Thou, <i>kíl</i> .	We (excl.), <i>níl'n</i> .
He, she, it, <i>něg'm</i> .	You, <i>kíl'wau</i> .
	They, <i>něg'mau</i> .

The primitive elements of the first, second and third persons are *n*, *k* and *w(o)*, prefixed in the separable pronouns above to certain demonstrative elements which are practically identical in all the dialects. These elements *n*, *k*, *w(o)* may also be prefixed to nouns, to indicate possession, and to verbs, to denote conjugational inflection. It will be noticed, however, that the separable pronoun of the third person is represented by a demonstrative particle *neg'm* (Abenaki *ag'ma*; Delaware *nekama*). This has no connection with the *w(o)*-prefix, but is a combination of the ordinary demonstrative *n(a; ni)*, 'that one' + the asseverative *ga*, seen in *gak* (*passim*), and the possessive *-m* (see below).

The following diagram will illustrate the Passamaquoddy method of combining the pronominal *n*, *k*, *w(o)* with the animate and inanimate forms of nouns in order to denote the possessive relation.

## DEF. AN.

*nimía níkwus*, 'I see my mother.'  
*k'nimía kíkʷus*, 'Thou seest thy mother.'  
*ʷ'nimíal wíkwús'l*, 'He sees his mother.'  
*k'nimiánna kíkʷús'n*, 'We (incl.) see our mother.'  
*nimianna níkwús'n*, 'We (incl.) see our mother.'  
*k'nimiáwu kíkʷús'wu*, 'You see your mother.'  
*ʷ'nimiáw'l wíkwús'w'l*, 'They see their mother.'

## DEF. INAN.

*nimí'ton nt'm'hík'n*, 'I see my axe.'  
*k'nimí'ton k't'm'hík'n*, 'Thou seest thy axe.'  
*ʷ'nimí'ton ʷ't'm'hík'n*, 'He sees his axe.'  
*k'nimí'tonen k't'm'hík'nen*, 'We (incl.) see our axe.'  
*nimí'tonen n't'm'hík'nen*, 'We (excl.) see our axe.'  
*k'nimí'tónia k't'm'hík'n'wu*, 'You see your axe.'  
*ʷ'nimí'tónia ʷ't'm'hík'n'wu*, 'They see their axe.'

## DEF. AN. PLURAL.

*nimíuk níkwús'k*, 'I see my mothers.'  
*k'nimíuk kíkʷús'k*, 'Thou seest thy mothers.'



*w'nimía wikwus*, 'He sees his mothers.'  
*k'nimiánnawá kikwúsn'w'k*, 'We (incl.) see our mothers.'  
*nimiánnawá nikwúsn'w'k*, 'We (excl.) see our mothers.'  
*k'nimiáwú kikwúsn'w'k*, 'You see your mothers.'  
*w'nimiáwú wikwusw'l*, 'They see their mothers.'

## DEF. INAN. PLURAL.

*n'mí'ton'l nt'm'hík'n'l*, 'I see my axes.'  
*k'nimí'ton'l k't'm'hík'n'l*, 'Thou seest thy axes.'  
*w'nimí'ton w't'm'hík'n'l*, 'He sees his axes.'  
*k'nimí'tonén'w'l k't'm'hík'nen'l*, 'We (incl.) see our axes.'  
*nimí'tonén'w'l n't'm'hík'nen'l*, 'We (excl.) see our axes.'  
*k'nimí'ton'w'l k't'm'hík'n'w'l*, 'You see your axes.'  
*w'nimí'ton'w'l w't'm'hík'n'w'l*, 'They see their axes.'

## INDEF. ANIMATE.

*nimía wikwus*, 'I see a mother'; *wikwus'k*, 'mothers.'  
*k'nimía wikwus*, 'Thou seest a mother'; *wikwus'k*, 'mothers.'  
*w'nimía wikwús'l*, 'He sees another'; *wikwus*.  
*k'nimiáp'n wikwus*, 'We (incl.) see a mother'; *wikwus'k*, 'mothers.'  
*nimiáp'n wikwus*, 'We (excl.) see a mother'; *wikwús'k*, 'mothers.'  
*k'nimiá'pa wikwus*, 'You see a mother'; *wikwus'k*, 'mothers.'  
*w'nimiánia wikwus'l*, 'They see a mother'; *wikwus*, 'mothers.'

## INDEF. INANIMATE.

*nimí'to t'm'hík'n*, 'I see an axe'; *t'm'hík'n'l*, 'axes.'  
*k'nimí'to t'm'hík'n*, 'Thou seest an axe'; *t'm'hík'n'l*, 'axes.'  
*w'nimí'to t'm'hík'n*, 'He sees an axe'; *t'm'hík'n'l*, 'axes.'  
*k'nimí'tonēp'n t'm'hík'n*, 'We (incl.) see an axe'; *t'm'hík'n'l*, 'axes.'  
*nimí'tonēp'n t'm'hík'n*, 'We (excl.) see an axe'; *t'm'hík'n'l*, 'axes.'  
*k'nimí'tó'pa t'm'hík'n*, 'You see an axe'; *t'm'hík'n'l*, 'axes.'  
*w'nimí'tow'k t'm'hík'n'l*, 'They see an axe'; *t'm'hík'n'l*, 'axes.'

The scheme of the possessive prefixes and suffixes for nouns is then as follows:

ANIMATES.		INANIMATES.	
Singular.		Singular.	
<i>n</i> ——	<i>k</i> ——' <i>n</i>	<i>n</i> ——' <i>l</i>	<i>k</i> —— <i>en</i>
<i>k</i> ——	<i>n</i> ——' <i>n</i>	<i>k</i> ——	<i>n</i> —— <i>en</i>
<i>ɥ</i> —— <i>l</i>	<i>ɥ</i> ——' <i>ɥ' l</i>	<i>ɥ</i> ——	<i>k</i> ——' <i>ɥu</i>
	<i>ɥ</i> ——' <i>ɥ' l</i>		<i>ɥ</i> ——' <i>ɥu</i>
Plural.		Plural.	
<i>n</i> —— <i>k</i>	<i>k</i> —— <i>n' ɥ' k</i>	<i>n</i> ——	<i>k</i> —— <i>-en' l</i>
	<i>n</i> —— <i>n' ɥ' k</i>		<i>n</i> —— <i>-en' l</i>
<i>k</i> —— <i>k</i>	<i>k</i> ——' <i>ɥ' k</i>	<i>k</i> ——' <i>l</i>	<i>ɥ</i> ——' <i>ɥ' l</i>
<i>ɥ</i> —— ( <i>i, o</i> )	<i>ɥ</i> ——' <i>ɥ' l</i>	<i>ɥ</i> ——' <i>l</i>	<i>k</i> ——' <i>ɥ' l</i>

When a noun begins with a vowel or with an *l* (really ' *l* with inherent vowel), a dental is inserted after the pronominal prefix: *nt-akim*, 'my snow-shoe'; *nt-latɥewâk'n*, 'my language.' When a noun begins with *ɥ*, as *ɥikɥus*, the *ɥ*-prefix coalesces with the initial, as shown above. Many substantives beginning with *m*, especially those denoting a part of the body, lose their *m* when inflected possessively: *m'huk*, 'body'; *n'huk*, 'my body,' etc.

#### SUBSTANTIVAL MODIFICATIONS.

The following seven noteworthy modifications of the substantive appear in Passamaquoddy:

1. The so-called obviative or accusative-ending of the third person occurs only when the animate noun stands in connection with a verb or possessive pronoun in the third person. There is no inanimate obviative. This accusative, which is peculiar to all the Algonquin dialects, is denoted in Passamaquoddy by *-l* in the singular, and in the plural often by the absence of any ending, or by *-i, -o*. The following instances will suffice to illustrate the application of this form: (a) *ɥ'nimíal haásɥ'l*, 'he sees the horse,' but *k'nimía haás*, 'thou seest the horse'; (b) *ɥ't-aásɥ'l*, 'his horse'; pl. *ɥ't-aás*, 'his horses'; *ɥikɥús'l*, 'his mother'; pl. *ɥikɥus*, 'his mothers'; (c) to express a dative relation: *ɥ'mílan haásɥ'l skitápyil*, 'he gives (him) the horse to the man,' but *k'mílen haás*, 'I give thee a horse'; cf. also in the participle: *nōtáchil*, 'those who hear him.' As to form, note the sing. obv. *skitápyil*, 'man'; *mûinyíl*, 'bear,' but pl. *skitá'pihi*; *mûini*; *haáso*; *mûso*, 'moose'; *ma'tekɥéss-o*, 'rabbits';

*wá'sis*, 'children'; *hamwes*, 'bees.' Note the double obv. ending in *ép'siyil*, and also regularly *ép'sí*, 'trees,' from *ep's*. The obv. pl. is irregular in the demonstrative pronouns, which are inflected as follows: *wut*, 'this'; obv. sing. *wut'l*, and *wahat*; pl. an. *wut'k*; obv. *wutihi* (often *wahat*); pl. inan. *wut'l*; *yut*, 'this' (nearer); obv. sing. *yut'l*, and *yahat*; pl. an. *yukt*, obv. *yu'tihi* (often *yahat*); inan. pl. *yu't'l*; *na*, 'that' (indeclinable); *ni*, *nít*, 'that' (nearer); obv. sing. *nít'l*, and *nihit*; pl. an. *nikt*; obv. *nihit* (rarely *nítihi*); pl. inan. *nít'l*. The distinction between the singular and plural obviative is often not observed, even in nouns and verbs.

This case frequently appears as the subject of a sentence. *pechihalina w'skinosis'k w'nichálkw'l*, 'then comes the lads' uncle'; *mach'kowdítit pesēsmowí nisumatíchihi*, 'as soon as their star-husbands have gone away.' Sometimes the obviative is omitted entirely: *w'néklan lám'p'kwínóskwesís'k*, 'he leaves the water-sprites'; a fairly common phenomenon. The obviative frequently appears in verbs: *wítāpekamáspenihi*, 'he was a friend to them.'

There is no trace in Eastern Algonquin of the so-called sur-obviative or third personal accusative of the Cree and Ojibwe.

2. The locative-instrumental is expressed by *-k*; pl. *-ikúk*, which has the force of a number of English prepositions; viz., 'at, by, from, in, into, on, to,' according to the directive force of the verb with which it stands in construction: *Péssank*, 'at Bar Harbor'; *kowás'k*, 'by means of a log,' a common locution; *wéchi-notgát'wul-to w'tún'k*, 'they crawl out of his mouth'; *móskesí'to paskán'wikúk*, 'he crawls out of the pits'; *wík'wām'k*, 'in' or 'into the house,' according to the sense of the verb; *kowásnok*, 'on a log'; *k'm'tkinans'n'k*, 'to our land,' etc. The locative *-k* is regularly inflected with the possessive suffixes as follows: *nt'm'hík'nk*, 'on my axe'; *k't'm'hík'n'k*, 'on thy axe'; *w't'm'hík'nk*, 'on his axe'; *k't'm'hík'n'n'k*, 'on our axe' (incl.); *nt'm'hík'n'n'k*, 'on our axe' (excl.); *k't'm'hík'n'w'k*, 'on your axe'; *w't'm'hík'n'w'k*, 'on their axe.'

3. The vocative element *-tuk* as in *nitapétuk*, 'O my friends'; *wásistuk*, 'O my children,' used only with the plural, had originally a dubitative meaning='as many as there are.' This force is still existent in Cree and Ojibwe.

4. The possessive suffix *-m* contains the same demonstrative element as the *-m* of *neg'm*, 'he, she, it': *nt-aás'm*, *k't-aás'm*, 'my, thy horse,' etc.

5. The diminutive *-sis* is very common: *t'm'hík'nsís*, 'little axe'; *pílskwesís*, 'girl' (*píl*, 'young' + *skwe*, 'woman' + *sis*), etc.

6. Here must be noted also the movable future *-ch*, which may be affixed indifferently to nouns or to verbs: *k'nimíol-ch*, 'I shall see you,' but *wikwān-ch nimí'ton*, 'I shall see the house.' There is another more vivid future expressed by *li*, 'go,' preceding the verb: *k't'li-nimíol*, 'I shall (am going to) see thee.'

7. Finally in this connection, similar to the *-ch* is the movable conditional particle *-p*, as *nt'liáp'n'p sámakwān'k skatúchi pískononōk*, 'we (excl.) should go upon the water, if there were no fog'; here with the verb, but *tahalo-p ke'kw-yali kwíkwatak*, 'as if they were seeking something' (*ke'kw*). Sometimes this appears doubled: *nílp-lo nt-étum-niswínén'p*, 'I should take it along.'

So far as I am aware there is no interrogative state such as occurs in Ojibwe. As in all Algonquin dialects, the genitive relation is expressed often by means of simple apposition: *aut niméskw'k*, 'road (*aut*) of the spirits'; *ótenesis w'li-p'maus'wín'w'k*, 'a village (*ótenesis*) of good people'; often, however, by the locative *-k*; *sípsís'k skwú't'k*, 'birds of (in) fire' (*skwú't'k*). Sometimes the genitive is indicated by the possessive relation: *w'skínōsis w'ni-chálkw'l*, 'the lad his uncle'.

As shown above, the dative is expressed by means of the verb and obviative substantive, if the verb is in the third person.

#### THE VERB.

The imperative is the simplest form of the verbal root, as is the case in most languages; thus: *kwaskw*, 'run thou'; *kwaskw'híkw*, 'run ye'; *kwaskwech*, 'let him run.'

The present tense is the main tense of the Passamaquoddy verb, as from it the future, conditional and past are formed by means of suffixes. In fact, it may be truly said that the present is the only real tense of the language. The present is often used for the past in vivid narrative. The following example of the present of the

intransitive stem *p'mauso-*, 'walk, live' (= *p'mi*=prolongation + *aus*, 'live'), will suffice to show the combination of this intransitive form with the pronominal elements: *np'maus*, 'I walk'; *k'p'maus*, 'thou walkest'; *w'p'maúso*, 'he walks'; 'is walking'; *k'p'maús-îp'n*, 'we (incl.) walk'; *np'maús-îp'n*, 'we (excl.) walk'; *k'p'maús-îpa*, 'you walk'; *w'p'maús-w'k*, 'they walk.' Note also the participle *p'múiso*, 'he is in the act of walking'; *kwen-aúsit*, 'as long (*kwen*) as he lives,' or *m'sî-eli-p'maúsit*, 'all the time (*m'sî*) while (*eli-*) he lives.' Sometimes the singular of the intransitive verb ends in *-in*: *n'kwáskwin*, 'I run'; (*k'*) *kwáskwin*, 'thou runnest'; *w'kwáskwin*, 'he runs.'

The combination of the pronominal elements with the transitive verb is the most difficult feature of the language and is sufficiently illustrated by the following paradigms and scheme of prefixes and suffixes. Note that all forms marked in the following schedules with a single asterisk are indefinite; those with two asterisks show a dative force (cf. **We—Thee**, Incl. in the Paradigm); forms with three asterisks have both indefinite and definite force, while all forms not designated are definite. All forms in Italics are negative and must be preceded by the negative particles *kat*, *katama*, *skat*, 'not.' All forms in Roman are positive. The *-ep*, *-p*, *-s*, *-epus* forms in parentheses indicate the imperfect or conditional-subjunctive. **Ind.** = Indefinite; **Def.** = Definite; **P:** = the Imperfect (Past); **An.** = Animate; **Inan.** = Inanimate. All forms in Roman are positive.

#### PARADIGM OF NIM—"TO SEE."

**I—Thee:** *k'nimiól(-ep)*; *k'nimióló(-p; -pus)*. When the verb-stem ends in *-l*, as *mil*, 'give,' this form becomes *k'milen*.

**I—Him-Her:** *nimía(-p)*; *nimiáwi(-p; -s)*.

**I—It:** **Ind.** *nimi'to(-p'n)*; *nimi'towi(-p; s)*. **Def.** *nimi'ton(-ep)*; *nimi'towun(-ep)*.

**I—You:** *k'nimiólpa(-p)*; *k'nimióló'pa(-pus)*.

**I—Them (An.):** **Ind.** *nimía*; *nimiawíwou(-p)*. **Def.** *nimiúk*; **P.** *nimiá-penik*; *nimiawíwuk*; **P:** *nimiawíwápenik*.

<sup>3</sup> In this verb, the forms: *nimía*, *nimi'to*, *nimi'ton'l* stand for *n'nimía*, *n'nimi'to*, etc., with the prefix *n'* of the first person, assimilated to the *n* of the verbal root. The second personal *k'* also assimilates to a *k*-stem: *kwáskwin*, 'thou runnest.'

**I—Them (Inan.):** *nimí'ton'l*; **P:** *nimí'tonépenil*; *nimí'towunul*; **P:** *nimí'towunépenil*.

**Thou—Me:**<sup>4</sup> *k'nimí-h-i* (-p; -pus); *k'nimihíwi*(-p).

**Thou—Him—Her:** *k'nimía*(-p); *k'nimíáwi*(-p).

**Thou—It:** **Ind.** *k'nimíto*(-p); *k'nimí'towi*(-p). **Def.** *k'nimíton*(-ep); *k'nimí'towun*(-ep).

**Thou—Us:** *k'nimíáp'n*(-ep; -es); *k'nimíawíp'n* (-ep).

**Thou—Them (An.):** **Ind.** *k'nimía*; *k'nimíawíwu*. **Def.** *k'nimíuk*; *k'nimíawíwuk*; **P:** *k'nimíápenik*; *k'nimíawíwápenik*.

**Thou—Them (Inan.):** **Ind.** *k'nimí'tónia*; *k'nimí'towuno*. **Def.** *k'nimí'ton'l*; *k'nimí'towun'l*.

**He—She—Me:** *nimíóg'n*(-ep); *nimíóg'wi*(-p).

**He—She—Thee:** *k'nimíóg'n*(-ep); *knimíóg'wi*(-p).

**He—She—Him—Her:** **Ind.** *w'nimía*(n);<sup>5</sup> *w'nimíáwi* (-p'n). **Def.** *w'nimíal*; **P:** *w'nimíáp'n*; *w'nimíawíwul*; **P:** *w'nimíawíp'n*.

**He—She—It:** **Ind** *w'nimí'to* (-p) *w'nimí'towi*(-p). **Def.** *w'nimí'ton*(-ep); *w'nimí'towun*(-ep).

**He—She—Us:** *k'nimíóg'nen*(-ep); *k'nimíog'wínen*(ep).

**He—She—You:** *k'nimíóg'wu* (-ep); *k'nimíog'wíwu* (-p).

**He—She—Them (An.):** **Indef.** *w'nimía*; *w'nimíawíwu*. **Def.** *w'nimíuk*; **P:** *w'nimíápenik*; *w'nimíawíwuk*; **P:** *w'nimíawíwápenik*.

**He—She—Them (Inan.):** *w'nimí'ton'l*; **P:** *w'nimí'tonép'n*; *w'nimí'towunul*; **P:** *w'nimí'towunépenil*.

**We (Incl.)—Thee:** *k'nimíól'p'n* (-opus); *k'nimíolóp'n*; **P:** *k'nimíolopóp'n* (-us), but note *k'pechíptolnén*(-ep) = **Def.** 'we bring it to thee'; *k'pechíptolónen*(-ep).

**We (Incl.)—Him—Her:** **Indef.** *k'nimíáp'n* (-ep): *k'nimíawíp'n*(-ep). **Def.** *k'nimíánen* (-ep); *k'nimíawínen* (-ep); *k'nimíanna*; *k'nimíawinna*.

**We (Incl.)—It:** **Indef.** *k'nimí'tonép'n*(-ep); *k'nimí'towíp'n* (-ep). **Def.** *k'nimí'tonén* (-ep); *k'nimí'towínén* (-ep).

<sup>4</sup> The element *-h-* is a connecting consonant here.

<sup>5</sup> The *n*-form, really participial, is often definite; see note 9 below.



**We (Incl.)—You:**<sup>6</sup> *k'nimiól'p'n* (-ep and -opus); *k'nimiólóp'n*; **P:** *k'nimiolóóp'n*. This form has a similar dative combination to that in **We (Incl.)—Thee** above, i. e., *k'—olnen*; *k'—olonen*.

**We (Incl.)—Them (An.): Indef. and Def.**<sup>7</sup> *k'nimiánnawa*; **P:** *k'nimiánnawápenik*; *k'nimiawínnawa*; **P:** *k'nimiawínnawápenik*. **Def.** *k'nimiánnawuk*; **P:** *k'nimiánnawépenik*; *k'nimiawínnawuk*; **P:** *k'nimiawínnawépenik*.

**We (Incl.)—Them (Inan.):** *k'nimi'tonénwul*; **P:** *k'nimi'tonenépenil*; *k'nimi'towínén'wul*; **P:** *k'nimi'towínenépenil*.

**We (Excl.)—Thee, Him-Her, etc.,** differs from the above forms only by the *n*-preformative instead of the *k'*.

**You—Me:**<sup>4</sup> *k'nimi-h-í'pa*; *k'nimi-h-íwí'pa*.

**You—Him-Her: Indef.** *k'nimiá'pa* (-p); *k'nimiawí'pa* (-p). **Def.** *k'nimiáwa* (-p'n); *k'nimiawíwa* (-p'n).

**You—It (Indef.):** *k'nimitó'pa* (-p'n); *k'nimitowí'pa* (-p'n). **Def.** *k'nimitónia*; **P:** *k'nimitoníaspenil*; *k'nimi'towúno*; **P:** *k'nimi'towíwáspenil*.

**You—Us:**<sup>4</sup> *k'nimi-h-íp'n* (-ep; epus); *k'nimiawí'p'n* (-ep; epus).

**You—Them (An.): Indef.** *k'nimiánia*; *k'nimiawíyania*. **Def.** *k'nimiáwa*; **P:** *k'nimiawépenik*;<sup>7</sup> *k'nimiawíwú*; **P:** *k'nimiawíwépenik*.

**You—Them (Inan.): Indef.** *k'nimi'tónia*; *k'nimi'towúno*; **P:** *k'nimi'tonépenil*; *k'nimi'ton'wíwépenil*. **Def.** *k'nimi'ton'wul*; *k'nimi'towín'wul*.

**They—Me:** *nimióguk*; **P:** *nimiogópenik*;<sup>8</sup> *nimiog'wíwuk*; **P:** *nimiog'wíwépenik*.

**They—Thee:** *k'nimióguk*; **P:** *k'nimiogópenik*; *k'nimiog'wíwuk*; **P:** *k'nimiog'wíwépenik*.

<sup>6</sup> Note that **We—Thee** is identical with **We—You**, no distinction being made here between the singular and plural object. But cf. **They—Thee** and **They—You**, where the distinction is made!

<sup>7</sup> Note the apparently arbitrary difference in vowel in the past: *-wápenik* for the **Indef.** and *-wépenik* for the **Def.** Observe that *k'nimiánnawa* is used both with indefinite and definite nouns. When the noun is not expressed *k'nimiánnawuk* is used.

<sup>8</sup> The *o* in *-ópenik* is plainly due to vowel harmony from the *ō* inherent in *nimióguk*, but note the *ō* in *w'nimi'towíwōpenik*, 'they do not see it,' where the *o*-vowel seems to be due to assimilation to the negative *w*.

**They—Him-Her:** Indef. *w'nimiánia*; **P:** *w'nimiápenik*; *w'nimiatwíyánia*; **P:** *w'nimiatwíwápenik*. Def. *w'nimiáwul*; **P:** *w'nimiatwápenik*; *w'nimiatwíwul*; **P:** *w'nimiatwíwápenik*.

**They—It:** Indef. *w'nimí'towuk*; **P:** *w'nimí'tópenik*; *w'nimí'towíwuk*; **P:** *w'nimí'towíwópenik*,<sup>8</sup> Def. *w'nimí'tónia*; **P:** *w'nimí'toniápenil*; *w'nimí'towúno*; **P:** *w'nimí'towuniápenil*.

**They—Us:** *k'nimióg'n'wuk*; **P:** *k'nimióg'nópenik*; *k'nimiog'wín'wuk*; *k'nimiog'wíwápenik*.

**They—You:** *k'nimióg'wuk*; **P:** *k'nimiogópenik*; *k'nimiogowíwuk*; **P:** *k'nimiogowíwépenik*.

**They—Them (An.):** Indef. *w'nimiánia*; **P:** *w'nimiatwápenik*; *w'nimiatwíyánia*; **P:** *w'nimiatwíwápenik*. Def. *w'nimiáwa* or *-wul*; **P:** *w'nimiatwépenik*; *w'nimiatwíwul* or *-wul*; **P:** *w'nimiatwíwápenik*.

**They—Them (Inan.):** Indef. *w'nimí'tónia*; **P:** *w'nimí'toniápenil* (*-aspenil*); *w'nimí'towúno*; **P:** *w'nimí'towuniápenil* (*-aspenil*). Def. *w'nimí'tón'wul*; *w'nimí'towún'wul*; **P:** *w'nimí'tonwépenil*; *w'nimí'towunépenil*.

#### PARTICIPIAL FORMS.\*

**I—Thee:** *nimíolún*; *táyowe k'nimíol*; *nimíolowun*; *táyowe k'nimíoló*.

**I—Him-Her:** *nimían*; *táyowe nimía*; *nimiatwíwun*; *táyowe nimíáwí*.

**I—It:** *nimí'toan*; *táyowe nimí'to(n)*,<sup>9</sup> *nimí'towíwun*; *táyowe nimí'towí*.

<sup>9</sup> The *n*-form seems to be optional.

**I—You:** *táyowe k'nimíólpa*; *táyowe k'nimíoló'pa*.

**I—Them (An.):** *táyowe nimíuk*; *táyowe nimiatwíwuk*.

**I—Them (Inan.):** *nimí'toanul*; *nimí'towíwanul*.

**Thou—Me:** *nimihíyin*; *nimihíwíyin*.

\* These forms are used in subordinate as well as in hanging clauses; thus, *nimíolun*, '(when) I see thee,' is also expressed by the finite construction, *táyowe k'nimíol*. In many instances the purely participial form seems to be lacking, as in **I—You**, **I—Them**, etc. I believe, however, that there are participial forms for all the combinations; possibly forms which my Indian informant did not happen to think of at the moment. In the kindred Canadian Abenaki, it is possible to place purely participial forms for all almost all the possible phrases (Prince, *Miscellanea Linguistica in Onore di Graziodio Ascoli*, p. 358, Ascoli Memorial).

Thou—Him-Her: k'nimíyas;<sup>10</sup> nimían; *nimiawíyan*.

Thou—It: k'nimitoánes;<sup>11</sup> nimi'toan; *nimi'towíwun*.

Thou—Us: k'nimiyápenus;<sup>11</sup> nimiyáp'n; *nimiawíp'n*.

Thou—Them (An.): k'nimíuk; nimían (?);<sup>9</sup> *nimiawíyan*.

Thou—Them (Inan.): nimí'toanul; *nimi'towíwánul*.

He-She—Me: nimíhit; *nimihikw*.

He-She—Thee: k'nimíog;<sup>12</sup> *k'nimíog'wi*.

He-She—Him-Her: táyowe w'nimíal; nimíá'tit; *nimiyakw*.

He-She—It: nimi'toan; *nimi'towíwun*.

He-She—Us: táyowe k'nimíog'nen; *k'nimíog'wínen*.

He-She—You: táyowe k'nimíog'wu; *k'nimíog'wíwu*.

He-She—Them (An.): w'nimíá'tit;<sup>13</sup> *w'nimíá'tikw* (?).

He-She—Them (Inan.): táyowe w'nimí'towul; *w'nimí'towíwul*.

We—Thee: táyowe k'nimíolp'n; *táyowe k'nimíolóp'n* (-ópus).

We—Him: táyowe k'nimíánen or k'nimíáp'n; *táyowe k'nimiawíp'n*;  
*nimiyáwin* (-us).

We—It: táyowe k'nimí'tonen; *táyowe k'nimí'towínen*; *nimi'tow'*-  
*néwin* (-us).

We—You: táyowe k'nimíolp'n; *táyowe k'nimíolóp'n* (opus).

We—Them (An.): táyowe k'nimíánnawuk; *táyowe nimíáwan* (-ós-  
*penik*).

We—Them (Inan.): táyowe k'nimí'tonénwul; *táyowe nimí'tow'*-  
*néwin* (-óspenil).

You—Him-Her: táyowe kílwau k'nimiyáwa; *táyowe k'nimiyawíwa*.

You—Him-Her: táyowe kílwau k'nimiyáwa; *táyowe k'nimiyáwíwa*.

<sup>10</sup> The ending -s is common in the past (cf. **We-Them**, participle) and may often be substituted for the characteristic -p, or even combined with it, as -pus (**We-Thee**; **We-You**). I suspect that *k'nimíyas*, *k'nimí'toánes*, *k'nimiyápenus* are really past forms here; i. e., that my informant understood the English 'see' in the past sense, following the New England dialect of English where 'see' = 'saw.' The *nimían*-form, which is purely participial, seems to be indeterminate, as it means 'I seeing him,' 'thou seeing him, them.' This is also the case with Abenaki *namihoan*, *namitoan*.

<sup>11</sup> Finite forms; *nimi'toan* and *nimiyáp'n* are the real participles.

<sup>12</sup> Note absence of the finite -n; *k'nimíog'n*, 'he sees thee.'

<sup>13</sup> It is strange to find the *w*-prefix before a participial form; cf. **They-Them** in this list.

**You—It:** táyowe k'nimi'tónia; *táyowe k'nimi'ton (-iaspenil)*; <sup>14</sup> *sic!*

**You—Us:** táyowe k'nimihíp'n; *táyowe k'nimiazwíp'n*.

**You—Them:** nimiówuk; *nimiozwíwuk*.

**You—Them (Inan.):** táyowe k'nimi'tónia; *táyowe k'nimi'towúnwul*.

**They—Me:** nimihyóguk; <sup>15</sup> *nimihyog'wíwuk*.

**They—Thee:** táyowe k'nimióguk; *táyowe k'nimiog'wíwuk*.

**They—Him:** táyowe w'nimiáwul; *táyowe w'nimiazwíwul*.

**They—It:** táyowe w'nimi'tónia; *táyowe w'nimi'towúno*.

**They—Us:** táyowe k'nimióg'n'wuk; *táyowe k'nimiog'n'wín'wuk*.

**They—You:** táyowe k'nimióg'wuk; *táyowe k'nimiogowíwuk*.

**They—Them (An.):** táyowe w'nimia'títit <sup>13</sup> or nimiá'tit; *táyowe w'nimiazwíwul*.

**They—Them (Inan.):** táyowe w'nimia'tótit; *táyowe w'nimi'towún'wul*.

#### PASSIVE.

'I am seen,' nimióguk (= 'they see me'); (*katama*) *nimiog'wíwuk*.

'Thou art seen,' k'nimíuk; <sup>16</sup> (*katama*) *k'nimiokiū*.

'He is seen,' w'n'míkw'so; (*katama*) *w'nimikw'siū*.

'We are seen,' k'nimiokép'n; (*katama*) *k'nimiokép'n*.<sup>17</sup>

'You are seen,' k'nimioképa; (*katama*) *k'nimioképa*.

'They are seen,' nimíkw's'wuk; (*katama*) *nimikw'sizwíyik*.

#### 'TO HAVE' (AN. OBJECT SING.).

'I have,' nt-í-wa (-p); <sup>18</sup> *nt-i-yíwáwíw (-wíp'n)*.

'Thou hast,' k't-í-wa (-p); *k't-i-yíwáwíw (-wíp'n)*.

'He has,' w't-í-wul; **P:** w't-i-wap'n or w't-wáspenil; *w't-i-wawíwul*;

**P:** *w't-i-wawíp'n*; but w't-í-yowan, 'he has them.'

'We (Incl.) have,' k't-i-wáp'n (-ep); *k't-i-yíwawíp'n (-ep)*.

'You have,' k't-i-wá (-pn); *k't-i-yíwáwina (-p'n)*.

<sup>14</sup> This can hardly be correct as a negative form. It seems to be a past form, owing to the *-s-* in *-áspenil*.

<sup>15</sup> Apparently a pure participial formation. The finite form 'they see me' = *nimióguk*.

<sup>16</sup> Apparently a pure passive. Note the finite *k'nimióguk*, 'they see thee.'

<sup>17</sup> It is strange to find no distinctively negative form here.

<sup>18</sup> Probably should be *nt-i-wap'n*, *kt-i-wap'n* in the past.

'They have,' **Indef.** w't-i-yánia; **P:** w't-i-yápenik; *w't-i-yiyawiyánia*.

**Def.** w't-i-yáwul; **P:** w't-i-yawáp'n; *w't-i-yawáwul*.

'TO HAVE' (INAN. OBJECT ALSO = 'TO BE').

n't-í-yin (-es; -ep'n).

k't-í-yin (-es; -ep'n).

w't-í-yin (-es; -ep'n).

k't-i-yíp'n (-es; -ep'n).

k't-i-yí'pa (-es; -ep'n).

w't-i-yínia; **P:** w't-i-yípenik.

w't-í-wul; **P:** w't-i-yipenil.

#### IRREGULAR ELEMENTS OF "TO HAVE" AND "TO BE."

**Third Person Singular:** al-ech, 'let it be'; el-e-sin,<sup>19</sup> 'where he is'; eyik, 'he (really 'it') is'; eyit, 'where he is'; el-eyit, 'where he is'; el-i-y-ijil = obviative of eyit; eyin, 'it being'; meskw nit el-i-nook, 'before this is so' (neg.);<sup>20</sup> tan ot'l-i-yin,<sup>21</sup> 'however it may be'; ch'wi-l-eyo, 'it must be'; w't-ach'wi-t-iwal, 'he must have it'; kis-iyit,<sup>22</sup> 'it having been'; w'-kichiyawi-wanyogonia, 'they have enough of it.'

**Third Person Plural:** m'si ayale, 'all who are'; eyoltitit, 'they being' (reflex.) eli-y-oltitit, 'as they are' (reflex.); el-igek, 'they who are'; etutek, 'they being'; eyilit; obv. eyilijil, 'where they are'; iakw, 'where they are'; weji-ya-witits, 'where they were' (with -s = Past).

#### SCHEME OF VERBAL PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES.

ME.	THEE.	HIM-HER.	IT.
<b>I</b>	k—ol, -el (-en) k—olo	n—a, u n—awí	* n—to * n—towi n—ton n—towun

<sup>19</sup> Note *e* for *i* in *el-e-sin*, *ēyik*, *ēyit*, due to vowel harmony.  
'he has taught me.'

<sup>20</sup> *Meskw*, which is used in the sense 'before,' really means 'not yet,' and therefore takes the negative verb.

<sup>21</sup> Note the phonetic *l* before the vowel root and the connecting -*t*- between the prefix and the *l*.

<sup>22</sup> *Kis*, 'already,' is the sign of the perfect tense; thus, *nkis-ake'kimkon*, 'he taught me.'

<b>Thou</b>	k—i <i>k—i'wi</i>		k—a, u <i>k—aw-i</i>	* k—to * <i>k—to'wi</i> k—ton <i>k—to'wun</i>
<b>He-She</b>	n—gon, g'n <i>n—g'wi</i>	k—gon, g'n <i>k—g'wi</i>	*w'—a (n) * <i>w—aw-i</i> w—al <i>w—aw-iwul</i>	*w—to * <i>w—to'wi</i> w—ton <i>w—to'wun</i>
<b>We (Incl.)</b>	*k—olp'n * <i>k—olop'n</i> **k—olnen <i>k—olonen</i>	*k—olp'n * <i>k—olop'n</i> **k—anen, anna <i>k—awinen, awinna</i>	* k—ap'n * <i>k—awip'n</i> * k—ap'n * <i>k—awip'n</i> * k—anen, anna <i>k—awinen, awinna</i>	* k—tonep'n * <i>k—to'wip'n</i> k—tonen <i>k—to'winen</i>
<b>We (Excl.)</b>	*n—olp'n * <i>n—olop'n</i> **n—olnen <i>n—olonen</i>	*n—olp'n * <i>n—olop'n</i> n—anen, anna <i>n—awinen, awinna</i>	* n—ap'n * <i>n—awip'n</i> n—anen, anna <i>n—awinen, awinna</i>	* n—tonep'n * <i>n—to'wip'n</i> n—tonen <i>n—to'winen</i>
<b>You</b>	k—i'pa <i>k—i'wi'pa</i>		* k—a'pa * <i>k—aw-i'pa</i> k—awa, u <i>k—aw-iwa (u)</i>	* k—to'pa * <i>k—to'wi'pa</i> k—tonia <i>k—to'wuno</i>
<b>They</b>	n—oguk <i>n—og'wi'wuk</i>	k—oguk <i>k—og'wi'wuk</i>	*w—ania * <i>w—aw-i'yania</i> w—wul <i>w—aw-iwul</i>	*w—to'wuk * <i>w—to'wi'wuk</i> w—tonia <i>w—to'wuno</i>
	Us.	You.	THEM (AN.).	THEM (INAN.).
<b>I</b>		k—olpa <i>k—olo'pa</i>	* n—a, u * <i>n—aw-i'wu</i> n—uk <i>n—aw-i'wuk</i>	*** n—ton'l <i>n—to'wun'l</i>
<b>Thou</b>	k—ap'n <i>k—awip'n</i>		* k—a, u * <i>k—aw-i'wu</i> k—uk <i>k—aw-i'wuk</i>	* k—tonia * <i>k—to'wuno</i> k—ton'l <i>k—to'wun'l</i>
<b>He-She</b>	k—og'nen <i>k—og'winen</i>	k—og'wu <i>k—og'wi'wu</i>	*w—a, u * <i>w—aw-i'wu</i> w—uk <i>w—aw-i'wuk</i>	***w—ton'l <i>w—to'wun'l</i>



We (Incl.)	k—olp'n	* k—annawa	*** k—tonen'wul
	k—olop'n	* k—awinnawa	k—towinen'wul
	**k—olnen	k—annawuk	
	**k—olonen	k—awinnawuk	
We (Excl.)	*n—olp'n	* n—annawa	*** n—tonen'wul
	*n—olop'n	* n—awinnawa	n—towinen'wul
	**n—olnen	n—annawuk	
	**n—olonen	n—awinnawuk	
You	k—ip'n	* k—ania or	* k—tonia
	k—awip'n	* k—awa	* k—towuno
		k—awiwiyania	k—ton'wul
		k—awu	k—ton'wun'wul
		k—awiwu	
They	k—og'n'wuk	*w—ania	*w—tonia
	k—og'win'wuk	*w—awiyania	*w—towuno
	k—og'wiwuk	w—awa, u	w—ton'wul
		w—awiwul	w—towun'wul

A study of the above forms will indicate that the main points of difference between the indefinite and definite combinations lie in the third person singular and throughout the plural. Although, as pointed out above, there is really only one tense, the present, there are certain endings which may be affixed to denote the past relation and the conditional-subjunctive. Thus, the *-p*, *-ep*, *p'n* and *-s*-elements are used for the past and conditional-subjunctive alike, and even appear in combination together, as *p's*; *ep's*; *op's*. A careful distinction must be made between the past-conditional *-p'n* and the *-p'n* of the first person plural as seen in **Thou—Us** and also in the intransitive verb as given above.

There is also, as shown, a passive voice, the distinctive element of which is *-k*, *-s* and in combination *-kw's*. Note also the passive forms *m'skówa*, 'he will be found'; *w'metapéksin*, 'it is finished'; *milkónia wásis'l*, 'they are given to the child'; *weswéphogónia*, 'that they be taken back'; *nōtakw'siánp'n*, 'I was heard' (*nōt-*); *kitwitasso*, 'it is called.' Sometimes a reflexive is used for a passive: *el-okélit*, 'what was done.' The reflexive, not indicated in the paradigms, is expressed in various ways; *e. g.*, by an *l-*, insert: *w'm'tyayew'lit-el-in*, 'as if they were playing together'; *kinw-el-úswiñ*, 'it shows itself'; *nt'lî-kisi-kwálp-el-es*, 'I will change myself'; *mache-*

*kaú-d-il-it*, 'as soon as they have gone off together,' etc. Motion is expressed by *pech*:- *'pechiyan*, 'when I come'; *w'p'chitakan*, 'he sends him'; *pechi-pawatmat*, 'he is always desirous'; *pechípha*, 'he brings him,' etc.

'Must' is expressed by the insert *ach'wi*: *w't-ách'wi-sakitón'l*, 'he must rule'; and in the future: *k't-ách'wi-t'li-wíchiy'n*, 'thou shalt be (*t'li*-) compelled to take heart.'

Desire is indicated by *kti*:- *w'k'ti-nimíal*, 'he wishes to see him'; *k'ti-cló'kelít*, 'what he wishes to do.'

There are many other such particles too numerous to mention in an article of this length.

As in all other Algonquin idioms, in the combined forms, the second person always takes precedence over the first and the first person over the third. Thus, in the forms *k'nimíol*, 'I see thee,' where the second person is the object and in *k'nimíáp'n*, 'you see me,' where the second person is the subject, the second personal element comes first. In such forms, however, as *nimía*, 'I see him'; *nimí'to*, 'I see it,' the first person appears in the first place.

The sign of the negative is the infixed *u*-vowel which, as shown above, frequently appears as *o* and often as *w*.

The use of the participle is most varied. Thus, it may take the place of the relative form as *nít pawálkwak*, 'this is what is wanted' (passive indicated by *-kw*), or it may be used to denote the action of the verb governed by a preposition *wечи-nimíolun*, 'in order for me to see thee,' or else it may be employed as a conditional: 'if' or 'when I see thee'=*nimíolun*. The negation of the participle is formed in the same way as the negative of the finite forms, *viz.*, by infixation of *u*, *o*, *w*.

Any noun may be verbalized by the ending *c*:- *w'skitáp-e*, 'he is a man'; by *-ewi*: *tan etúchi w'skitápewi*, 'so long as he is a man'; by *-ewiū*: *w'skitápewiū*, 'he becomes a man'; also by participial endings: *w'skitápewít*, 'he who is a man'; or by *-(w)cleso*: *w'skitápe-wéleso*, 'he becomes a man.'

Practically all the Passamaquoddy verbs are conjugated after the above model, most of the minor variations which occur being due to phonetic peculiarities.

## NUMERALS.

The numerals up to five present three forms; *vis.*, a form used chiefly in counting, and adjectival animate and inanimate forms, as indicated by the following list. There is no trace of peculiar numerals used only with certain classes of substantive, as, for example, with round objects, etc., such as occur in Ojibwe.

	In Counting,	Animates,	Inanimates,
one	..... <i>nekw't</i>	<i>peskw</i> ; obv. -'l <i>peskw</i> 'one, each' occasionally: <i>nekw't</i>	<i>peskw</i> occasionally: <i>nekw't</i>
two	..... <i>tābū</i>	<i>nīstuwk</i> obv.: <i>nīsō</i>	<i>nīs'n'l</i>
three	..... <i>sist</i>	<i>nō'wuk</i> obv.: <i>nōhō</i>	<i>nō'w'n'l</i>
four	..... <i>nēu</i>	<i>nē'wuk</i> obv.: <i>nēwō</i>	<i>nē'w'n'l</i>
five	..... <i>nān</i>	<i>nān'w'k</i> obv.: <i>nānō</i>	<i>nān'w'l</i>
six	..... <i>kamāchīn</i>	<i>kamāchīn-keswuk</i> obv. - <i>kesō</i>	<i>kamāchīn-kes'n'l</i>
seven	..... <i>'lwīk'n'k</i>	<i>'lwīk'n'k-keswuk</i> obv. - <i>kesō</i>	<i>'lwīk'n'k-kes'n'l</i>
eight	..... <i>'km''lchīn</i>	<i>'km''lchīn-keswuk</i> obv. - <i>kesō</i>	<i>'k''mlchīn-kes'n'l</i>
nine	..... <i>eskw'nátek</i>	<i>eskw'nátek-keswuk</i> obv. - <i>kesō</i>	<i>eskw'nátek-kes'n'l</i>
ten	..... <i>m'tul'n</i>	<i>m'tul'n-keswuk</i> obv. - <i>kesō</i>	<i>m'tul'n-kes'n'l</i>

From eleven to fifteen, the numerals are formed from the tens by affixing for the animate and inanimate -*ankoso-wuk*; obv. *ankoso*; *ankosow'l*, respectively: *nisánkoso-wuk skitayik*, 'twelve men'; *nsánkoso-wuk* (obv. -*wō*); inan. -*w'l*, 'thirteen'; *newánko-*, 'fourteen'; *nananko*, 'fifteen.' From sixteen to nineteen the affixed element is -*kesánko*: *kamāchīn-kesánkoso-wuk* (obv. -*kesánkoso*); inan. -*kesánkoso-w'l*, etc.

From twenty on, the cardinal elements are as follows: *nisínsk-*, 'twenty'; *nsínsk-*, 'thirty'; *nōowínsk-*, 'forty'; *nanínsk-*, 'fifty'; *kamāchīn-kesínsk-*, 'sixty'; *'lwīk'n-kesínsk*, 'seventy'; *'km''lchīn-kesínsk*, 'eighty'; *eskw'nátek-kesínsk*, 'ninety'; *nekw'tát'kw-*, 'hun-

dred.' The animate and inanimate plurals are made from these forms by affixing the element; animate *-ke'kw'sowuk* (obv. *-ke'kw'so*); inan. *-ke'kw'-sow'l*; as *nōowínsk-ke'kw'sowuk skitápyik*, 'forty men,' etc.

The ordinals, with the exception of *amsk'was*, 'first,' are formed from the cardinals by adding *-ewéi* (*nisewéi*, 'second'; *nōwewéi*, 'third,' etc.), until tenth which is *nekw'tinskewéi*. To the element *-anko* of the -teens is added the ending *-wewéi*; *nōowánkowewéi*, 'fourteenth,' and to the ending *-insk* is added *-ekewéi*; as *nisinske-kewéi*, 'twentieth.'

The numerals are usually inflected adjectivally preceding their substantives, but they may be used indeclinably, as *eskw'nátek-kesōk'niū*, 'nine days.'

The following love-song will serve to illustrate both the present musical style of the tribe, which is undoubtedly influenced by the Roman Catholic Gregorian chants of their missionary priests, and also the construction of the language. It should be noted that the last syllable *û* of the song must be prolonged as much as possible, and finally allowed to end with a rapid expulsion of the breath, this is the so-called "die-away" which is a characteristic of much of the American music.

*Peskî k't-cl-ápîn elmî-nelemawík*

Lonely thou lookest up-stream

*Elmî-sîkwak-lo takwâk'nwî-lok-lo*

In spring and in autumn;

*Chîptuk k'nimihî-sa kwilakweyûn*

Perhaps thou mayest see me seeking thee.

*Kuwēnodîn Ũ; kuwēnodîn Ũ.*

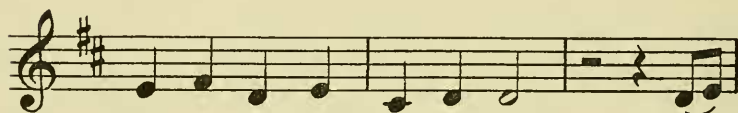
It is long O; It is long O!



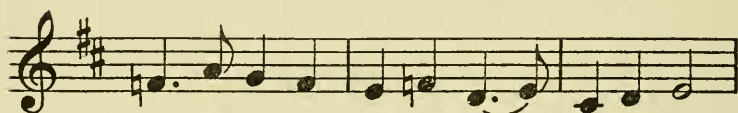
Pes - kî k'te-la - pin el - mî -



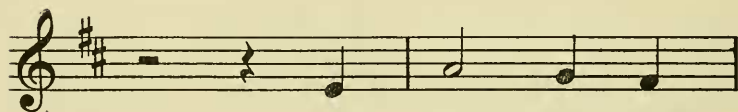
ne - lem-wik; el - mî - sî-kwak-



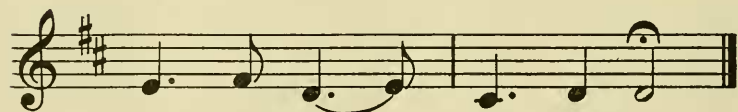
lō ta-kwa-k'n - wi-lok-lō chip-



tuk ke-ni-mi - hî-sa kwi - la-kwe-yun



ku - wê - no - din



u ku - we - - no - din u

## COMMENTARY.

In the above song, *peskî* is adverbial from *peskw*, 'one; lonely'; *k't-el-apin*: *k* = second person + the infixed *-t-* before a vowel + *el*, the element of prolongation, 'thou art doing it' + *ap*, 'look' + the intransitive *in*, seen above in the conjugation of *kɛvaskɛw*, 'run'; *elmî-nelemɛwîk*: *elmî* = 'being; while there' + *nelemɛwîk*, which also occurs in the form *nul'muk*, showing the indeterminate vowel = 'up' — here probably 'up-stream'; *elmî-sikɛwak-lo*: *elmî*, here, = 'during' + *sikɛwak*, a musical prolongation of *sikɛ'k*, 'in spring' + *lō*, the asseverative particle; *takɛwâk'nɛvi-lok-lo*: *takɛwâk'n*, 'autumn,' + the adjectival *-ɛvi* + the verbal inan. *-lok* + the asseverative *-lo*; *chîp-tuk*, probably contains the same element as the future *-ch* + the verbal *p't* + the inan. participle *-uk* = 'when it may be'; *k'nimi-hî-sa*, 'thou seest me' with the conditional *-sa*; *kɛwilakɛwiyun*: *kɛwil*, 'seek,' + the formative *ak* + (*ɛw*)*iyun*, participial, = **I — Thee**; *kuwēnodin U*: *kɛwēn*, 'be long,' + the intransive endings *-(o)din* + the exclamation *U* = 'Oh.'